

CHUCK GRASSLEY, IOWA, CHAIRMAN

MIKE CRAPO, IDAHO
PAT ROBERTS, KANSAS
MICHAEL B. ENZI, WYOMING
JOHN CORNYN, TEXAS
JOHN THUNE, SOUTH DAKOTA
RICHARD BURR, NORTH CAROLINA
JOHNNY ISAKSON, GEORGIA
ROB PORTMAN, OHIO
PATRICK J. TOOMEY, PENNSYLVANIA
TIM SCOTT, SOUTH CAROLINA
BILL CASSIDY, LOUISIANA
JAMES LANKFORD, OKLAHOMA
STEVE DAINES, MONTANA
TODD YOUNG, INDIANA

RON WYDEN, OREGON
DEBBIE STABENOW, MICHIGAN
MARIA CANTWELL, WASHINGTON
ROBERT MENENDEZ, NEW JERSEY
THOMAS R. CARPER, DELAWARE
BENJAMIN L. CARDIN, MARYLAND
SHERROD BROWN, OHIO
MICHAEL F. BENNET, COLORADO
ROBERT P. CASEY, JR., PENNSYLVANIA
MARK R. WARNER, VIRGINIA
SHELDON WHITEHOUSE, RHODE ISLAND
MAGGIE HASSAN, NEW HAMPSHIRE
CATHERINE CORTEZ MASTO, NEVADA

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6200

KOLAN DAVIS, STAFF DIRECTOR AND CHIEF COUNSEL
JOSHUA SHEINKMAN, DEMOCRATIC STAFF DIRECTOR

May 3, 2019

Mr. David Keene



Dear Mr. Keene:

On July 26, 2018, Senators Blumenthal, Whitehouse, Warren and I sent you a request for information related to your participation in a National Rifle Association (NRA) delegation's travel to Moscow, Russia in December 2015. You did not respond. On September 6, 2018, Senate Finance Committee staff attempted to contact you electronically about this inquiry. You did not respond. On December 13, 2018, I requested that you make yourself available to be interviewed by my staff in conjunction with my investigation into Russian engagement with the NRA and related political activities. You did not respond. In order to resolve this matter I, as Ranking Member, respectfully request that you provide answers and related documents to the attached questions to me no later than May 17, 2019.

I also request that you complete and notarize the attachment attesting to the accuracy and authenticity of your response. Federal law (18 USC 1001) generally makes it a crime to knowingly and willfully provide false information or to conceal a material fact in any matter within the jurisdiction of the executive, legislative, or judicial branch of the Government of the United States.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Ron Wyden".

Ron Wyden
Ranking Member
United States Senate Finance Committee

Attachment I: interrogatory

Attachment II: previous correspondence

Attachment I

Outstanding Congressional Requests:

- 1) On July 26, 2018, Senators Blumenthal, Whitehouse, Warren and I sent you a request for information related to your participation in an NRA delegation's travel to Moscow, Russia in December 2015. On September 6, 2018, Senate Finance Committee staff attempted to contact you electronically about this inquiry. The second attachment to this correspondence is the original July 2018 request. Please provide the information requested in that correspondence.

History of Russian Engagement:

- 2) According to public reporting, you met Alexander Torshin in 2011 and made a trip to Russia in 2013. Documents provided to the Committee indicate that Paul Erickson, who was indicted in February for wire fraud and money laundering, helped staff this 2013 trip.
 - a) Describe when you first met Mr. Torshin and the circumstances surrounding that meeting, and identify any other meetings you had with him, the dates they occurred, and the substance of these meetings.
 - b) Describe the purpose of the 2013 trip, identify the individuals and government officials you met with, and the substance of those meetings.
 - c) Describe the role that Mr. Erikson played in that trip and in any other trips, communications, or plans for contacts with Russian nationals, businesses, organizations, or officials.
 - d) Describe when you first met Maria Butina and the circumstances surrounding that meeting and identify any other meetings you had with her, the dates they occurred, and substance of these meetings.
 - e) Provide copies of any e-mails or correspondence you had with Mr. Torshin and Ms. Butina.

December 2015 Moscow Trip:

- 3) A copy of your itinerary provided by the NRA for the NRA's December 2015 trip to Moscow shows that trip organizers provided biographical briefing materials for and scheduled meetings with several high-level Russian government officials or oligarchs close to President Putin. For each individual listed below please answer the following series of questions:

- Evgeny Lukyanov
- Igor Pisarsky
- Konstantin Nikolaev
- Pavel Gusev
- Sergei Lisowski
- Sergey Yastrzhembsky
- Leonid Sonin
- Alexander Lisitsin
- Vadim Zadorozhny
- Vitaly Kruchin

- Igor Shchyogolev
 - Dmitry Rogozin
- a) Confirm whether, when, and where you met each individual.
 - b) Identify any other participants in meetings you had with each individual.
 - c) Briefly describe the substance of any meetings that took place between you and the individuals identified above.
 - d) Identify any guidance you received from U.S. government officials about meeting with Russian government leaders or other individuals who have been sanctioned by the U.S. government.
- 4) Your itinerary for the trip in question also shows several unscheduled blocks of time, including an entire day on December 11, 2015. In comparison, a copy of an itinerary for Pete Brownell shows gun manufacturer tours and a tour of a “secret Soviet Cold War bunker” on December 11, 2015.
- a) Identify any off-the-record or off-schedule meetings or conversations that took place between Russian government officials, weapons manufacturers, or sanctioned individuals and yourself, identify any additional participants, and briefly summarize the substance of those meetings.
 - b) Documents provided to the Committee indicate members of the delegation expected to meet with Russian President Vladimir Putin. Did you or any delegation members meet with Mr. Putin?
- 5) According to documents provided by the NRA, after you and your spouse, Donna Keene, were informed that then-NRA President Allan Cors would be withdrawing from the trip, Mrs. Keene responded by email on November 13, 2015. In her email, Mrs. Keene implored Mr. Cors to reconsider his cancellation, writing, “David and I did no NRA international travel when he was an officer – but this is NRA business – we’ve worked for 7 years to build trust with the Russians. They are status-conscious and have spent untold hours and dollars on us.”
- a) Please describe the efforts you undertook beginning in 2008 referred to by your spouse.
 - b) Please also explain how building a relationship with the Russian government related to “NRA business.”
 - c) Please explain what your spouse meant by “they... have spent untold hours and dollars on us.”
 - d) Identify any sources of funding, business deals, or other financially beneficial arrangements between you, your wife, any entities either of you have a financial interest in, and the Russian government, Russian weapons manufactures, or any entity, foreign or domestic, linked to either.

Domestic NRA events and meetings with Russian nationals:

- 6) Records provided by the NRA suggest that certain expenses related to visits by Maria Butina and Alexander Torshin incurred by you in the United States were reimbursed by the organization. For example, the NRA provided a spreadsheet of what appear to be your NRA-related expenses which included a charge of \$1,732.94 for an April 9, 2015 meal with the stated business purposes of “Meal in Nashville for Annual Meeting: David Keene, Donna Keene, Alexander Torshin, Maria Butina, Ronnie & Mrs. Barrett, Carolyn Meadows, Ian and Carin Walters, Ollie North, Larry & Laurie Beasley, Kayne Rot.”
- a. Please itemize all expenses incurred by you in the United State related to Russian individuals’ or officials’ (including but not limited to Butina, Torshin, or any other Russian individuals who participated in 2015 meeting) activity including any dinners, meetings, event tickets, third party event registration fees, or other events, in 2015. Indicate whether the NRA reimbursed you for any of these expenses and identify those.
 - b. With regard to April 2015 event, please identify any other attendees, describe the purpose of the event and substance of conversations at the meal and identify who ultimately paid for the event.
- 7) The NRA provided a spreadsheet of what appear to be your NRA-related expenses which included charges of \$897.12 and \$739.83 for two May 2016 meals with the stated business purposes of “Meal with David M. Keene, Maria Butina, Dmitry Osipkin, Dave Butz at Annual Meeting,” and “Meal with David M. Keene, Maria Butina, Alexander Torshin, Dmitry Osipkin, [former Democratic Representative] Alan and Mrs. Mollohan at Annual Meeting.”
- a. Please itemize all expenses incurred by you in the United States related to Russian individuals’ or officials’ (including but not limited to Butina, Torshin, or any other Russian individuals who participated in 2016 meeting) activity including any dinners, meetings, event tickets, third party event registration fees, or other events, in 2016. Indicate whether the NRA reimbursed you for any of these expenses and identify those.
 - c) With regard to the May 2016 event, please identify any other attendees, describe the purpose of the event and substance of conversations at the meal and identify who ultimately paid for the event.
- 8) An itinerary for a “delegation from Russia” that the NRA invited to its annual meeting in Louisville, Kentucky in May 2016 shows that several Russian nationals were invited to participate in the NRA’s May 18, 2016 International Affairs subcommittee meeting, for which you served as Committee Chairman. The itinerary shows the NRA invited the Russian delegation to the NRA’s May 19, 2016 legislative policy committee meeting, a committee on which you also served.
- a) Identify which, if any, Russian nationals participated in or monitored the International Affairs and legislative policy committee meetings.
 - b) Briefly summarize the substance of the meetings and any decisions that either committee made during the meetings.
 - c) Provide copies of any relevant minutes, notes, or other memorialization of the meetings.

Donald Trump Jr. Meeting:

- 9) According to documents provided by the NRA, you arranged a dinner during the 2016 Annual Meeting, at which Pete Brownell introduced Donald Trump Jr. to Alexander Torshin, who attended the Annual Meeting at the NRA's invitation. Please describe your role in arranging the meeting between Mr. Trump and Mr. Torshin and briefly summarize the substance of their conversation.

Domestic non-NRA events and meetings with Russian nationals:

- 10) On April 27, 2015, Donna Keene copied you on an email to Maria Butina in which she wrote the NRA would pay for Butina's registration for "CNP" and claimed you would be participating in the event as well. The NRA also provided a spreadsheet of what appear to be your NRA-related expenses, including a June 5, 2015 \$700 expenditure with the stated business purpose of "Registration Fee for CNP Meeting."
- a) Please confirm whether Mrs. Keene was referencing an annual meeting hosted by the Council for National Policy. Please also confirm whether you attended, whether Ms. Butina attended, the dates of the meeting(s), and identify who paid for your and Ms. Butina's participation. Please provide a brief summary of the substance of any meetings in which Ms. Butina participated.
 - b) Please identify any other domestic non-NRA events or meetings for which you arranged, paid, or otherwise helped Ms. Butina or Mr. Torshin attend.

Interactions with former Russian Ambassador Sergey Kislyak:

- 11) On January 5, 2015, the Center for the National Interest emailed NRA staff an "Activity and Media Report" for December 2014. In that email, the nonprofit's CEO asserted that you participated in an "off-the-record" dinner with then- Russian Ambassador Sergey Kislyak and others.
- a) Please confirm your participation in the conversation, identify any other individuals who participated, and briefly summarize the substance of your conversation with the then-Ambassador.
 - b) Please provide any copies of notes, minutes, prepared talking points, or other memorialization of the conversation.
- 12) According to NRA documents, on June 22, 2015, the Center for the National Interest hosted a conversation with Andranik Migranyan, Director of Russia's government-connected Institute for Democracy and Cooperation, and Ambassador Kislyak.
- a) Please confirm whether you attended the event or participated in the discussion.
 - b) If you attended the event, please briefly summarize the substance of the conversation and any other interactions with the Ambassador and Mr. Migranyan at the event.
 - c) If you attended the event, please identify any other participants.

- d) If you attended the event, provide any copies of notes, minutes, prepared talking points, or other memorialization of the conversation.
- 13) An index of the documents provided by the NRA shows that on August 18, 2015 your NRA email address was used to schedule a four hour "Russian Ambassador Visit" at NRA headquarters for August 20, 2015. According to an email with the subject line "DAILY REPORT 20 AUGUST 2015," Ambassador Kislyak arrived shortly after 10:30am that day. NRA security "escorted him to the South tower and stayed with him until Mr. Cors, Mr. Keene and Nick Perrine arrived." According to the email log, Ambassador Kislyak left the NRA premises roughly three hours later at 1:45pm.
- a) Please explain the purpose of the Russian Ambassador's visit, identify any additional participants, and summarize the substance of your conversations with him.
- 14) Documents provided by the NRA show that an NRA employee created a calendar entry for a "Hunt with Ambassador Kislyak" from November 19, 2015 to November 22, 2015.
- a) Please confirm whether this event was scheduled on your behalf.
 - b) Please confirm whether you attended the event with the Russian Ambassador.
 - c) Please provide any documentation related to the trip if it took place, including, but not limited to, schedules, itineraries, travel plans, and lodging accommodations.
 - d) Please identify who paid for any expenses related to the trip, if it occurred.
 - e) Please briefly summarize the substance of any conversations that may have taken place between you and the Ambassador and identify additional participants in those conversations and in the trip.
- 15) On April 8, 2016, according to an index of documents provided by the NRA, your NRA email address was used to schedule "Lunch with Russian Ambassador and Allan Cors." The calendar entry was scheduled for May 5, 2016 from 1pm-3pm.
- a) Please confirm whether this lunch took place and identify any other participants.
 - b) Please summarize the substance of your conversations with the Ambassador.
- 16) On March 16, 2017, according to the same NRA document index, user "dkeene" created a contact entry for "Sergey Kislyak – Embassy of the Russian Federation in the USA." The entry included an email to you from Yury Y. Melnik, Chief of Staff to the Russian Ambassador, in which Mr. Melnik asked to schedule a lunch for June 9, 2017 at the Russian Ambassador's residence in Washington, DC.
- a) Please confirm whether this lunch took place and identify any other participants. Please summarize the substance of your conversations with the then-Ambassador.
 - b) If you attended the event, please briefly summarize the substance of the conversation and any other interactions with the Ambassador and Mr. Migranyan at the event.

- c) If you attended the event, please identify any other participants.
- 17) According to NRA documents, a calendar entry was created by “Donna Wiesner @ gmail” for July 18, 2017 with the subject “Kislyak Amb. Party wdwk.”
- a) Please confirm whether you or your spouse attended an event on that date related to then-Ambassador Kislyak.
- b) Please briefly describe what that event was, if it occurred.
- c) Please briefly summarize the substance of any conversations or interactions you had with the Ambassador at the event, if you attended it.

Business relationships:

- 18) According to public reporting, Mrs. Keene, Ms. Butina, and Mr. Erickson repeatedly attempted to broker a deal to sell Russian jet fuel, including one attempt to involve Russian state-owned Gazprom.
- a) Please confirm the accuracy of public reporting related to this story and explain your role, if any, in the proposed business arrangement.
- b) Please identify any other attempted or successful business arrangements you or Mrs. Keene made with any Russian national, Russian-owned entity, domestic subsidiary or Russian-linked domestic entity.
- 19) According to documents provided by the NRA, Maria Butina emailed you on December 30, 2014 about a Russian gun maker that was looking to expand into U.S. markets. While her email does not name the company, she referenced that the company made “traumatic weapons.” On June 20, 2014, Butina posted to social media website VK that she had traveled to Crimea to promote self-defense weapons made by a Moscow-based company “New Weaponry Technologies LLC.” The website for New Weapon Technologies includes marketing material for “traumatic guns” and includes a post claiming the company had opened a storefront in Crimea.
- a) Please confirm whether New Weaponry Technologies was the company Butina pitched to you and whether you took any additional action related to her offer to help the company expand into the United States.
- b) Please confirm whether you were aware at the time that the company was apparently engaged in training and arming pro-Putin dissidents in the Ukraine.

Notarized Statement of Accuracy

I certify that the statements I have made and the materials that I have provided in response to the Committee’s letter of April XX, 2019, are true, complete and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Name: _____ Date: _____

Witness: _____ Date: _____

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

July 26, 2018

Mr. David Keene
12208 Candle Light Cir Ste 172
Fort Washington, MD 20744

Dear Mr. Keene:

We are writing to request information and documentation you may have in relation to a National Rifle Association delegation's December 2015 trip to Moscow, Russia in which you participated, according to social media postings by the Russian pro-gun organization "Right to Bear Arms,"¹ and related matters.

In February of this year, Senator Wyden launched an investigation after media reports suggested Alexander Torshin, Deputy Governor of the Central Bank of the Russian Federation, had attempted to illegally funnel foreign money into the 2016 campaign through the NRA.² On April 6, 2018, the Treasury Department sanctioned Mr. Torshin for his role in the Russian government's worldwide malign activity, including for "attempting to subvert Western democracies, and malicious cyber activities."³

Another participant in the December 2015 Moscow trip, Maria Butina, was recently arrested by federal authorities and charged with acting as a covert agent of the Russian government.⁴ Prosecutors have alleged that she "engaged in a years-long conspiracy to work covertly in the United States as an undeclared agent of the Russian Federation in order to advance the interest of her home country."⁵ In a sworn affidavit for the United States Government, an FBI Special Agent involved in the case attested that Ms. Butina began "laying the groundwork in Russia" for her alleged influence campaign as early as March 24, 2015.⁶

¹ ПРАВО НА ОРУЖИЕ Facebook Profile, December 14, 2015;

www.facebook.com/PravoNaOruzhie/photos/t.100002393251827/989323151139883/

² McClatchy, January 18, 2018; <https://www.mcclatchydc.com/news/nation-world/national/article195231139.html>

³ Treasury Department press release, April 6, 2018; <https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/sm0338>

⁴ Washington Post, July 16, 2018; www.washingtonpost.com/local/public-safety/aria-butina-russian-gun-rights-advocate-charged-in-us-with-acting-as-russian-federation-agent/2018/07/16/d1d4832a-8929-11e8-85ae-511bc1146b0b_story.html

⁵ U.S. vs. Mariia Butina, Government's Memorandum in Support of Pretrial Detention, July 18, 2018; <https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/4609962/7-18-18-US-Motion-for-Pretrial-Detention-Butina.pdf>

⁶ Ibid.

Ms. Butina reportedly claimed that her gun rights organization, the Right to Bear Arms, “helped pay part of the expenses of a visiting NRA delegation to my native Russia, something any decent host would do when friends visit.”⁷ According to a statement of economic interest that he filed with the Milwaukee County Ethics Board, David A. Clarke Jr, former Milwaukee County Sheriff reported that Ms. Butina’s organization, the Right to Bear Arms, paid \$6,000 for his meals, lodging, and travel for his participation in the trip.⁸

In light of this information, please provide the following no later than August 9, 2018:

- 1) Please confirm your participation in the December 2015 trip and identify how your travel, meals, lodging, and other expenses related to the trip were paid for and provide all supporting documentation, including invitations, itineraries, e-mails, and correspondence.
- 2) Please confirm and describe the extent to which Ms. Butina, her Right to Bear Arms organization, or any other entity associated with her, invited you, organized, or paid in part or in full for any of your expenses related to the December 2015 trip and provide all related documentation, including invitations, itineraries, e-mails, other correspondence, and receipts.
- 3) Please identify and describe any other remuneration you received from Ms. Butina or any entity or organization affiliated with, managed, or controlled by Ms. Butina and provide all related documentation, including e-mails, other correspondence, and receipts.
- 4) What role, if any, did the National Rifle Association or any of the organization’s senior leadership play in assisting or approving the trip to Russia or your participation in any of the events in which your delegation took part?
- 5) Please identify and describe any interactions you had with Mr. Torshin or Ms. Butina on the December 2015 trip in question, and provide all related documentation, including e-mails and other correspondence.
- 6) Please identify and describe any interactions you had with Mr. Torshin or Ms. Butina at any other point in time dating back to 2010—in the United States or elsewhere—and provide all related documentation, including e-mails and other correspondence.
- 7) Please identify and describe any interactions, financial or otherwise, you have had with Paul Erickson or any entity connected to him, including but not limited to Bridges LLC and provide all related documentation, including e-mails, other correspondence, and receipts.
- 8) On March 17, 2014, the United States authorized sanctions against multiple individuals, including then-Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation Dmitry Rogozin for his role in the Russian government’s annexation of Crimea.⁹ Public reporting indicates that he participated in meetings with your delegation during the Moscow trip.¹⁰ Please identify and describe any interactions you had with Mr. Rogozin or any other related individual or entity who were sanctioned

⁷ ThinkProgress, July 18, 2018; <https://thinkprogress.org/heres-what-accused-russian-spy-maria-butina-told-thinkprogress-in-2016-75cd890b1e2e/>

⁸ Milwaukee County Ethics Board, Statement of Economic Interest filed January 31, 2016; <http://county.milwaukee.gov/ImageLibrary/Groups/cntySheriff/documents/2016/2015SEI.pdf>

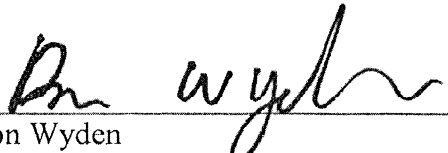
⁹ *Business Insider*, March 17, 2014; <http://www.businessinsider.com/crimea-vote-referendum-sanctions-obama-putin-2014-3>


¹⁰ McClatchy, June 11, 2018; <https://www.mcclatchydc.com/latest-news/article212756749.html>


at the time and provide all related documentation, including e-mails and other correspondence.


Please contact Senator Wyden's office at 202-224-⁵²⁴⁴~~5344~~ to make arrangements for production of these materials or to answer any further questions. Thank you for your attention to this important matter.

Sincerely,


Ron Wyden
United States Senator


Richard Blumenthal
United States Senator


Sheldon Whitehouse
United States Senator


Elizabeth Warren
United States Senator